



ASIAN PREMIERS TO DISCUSS H-BOMB

Nehru asked to form committee of scientists

THE eyes and the hope of the world are now centred on Asia. The inability of the leaders of the Powers to offer any prospect of solution to their present terrible dilemma is forcing upon the neutral leaders, and particularly on Mr. Nehru, the responsibility of world leadership for peace.

In an interview last week, Mr. Nehru revealed that he had received a request from certain influential people in the West that India should set up a committee of scientists and others to explain to the world what the effect of a new world war would be on humanity.

He said an Asian nation had been invited to do this because it was particularly suited to fulfil this role as it was not involved in either of the power blocs.

There were numerous people, even in those powerful countries which were preparing for war, who felt with the people of Asia that another war would be disastrous for humanity, said Mr. Nehru. These people looked to Asia to work for the prevention of another war.

The Indian Prime Minister cited the instance of India's mediation in the Korean war and said that by co-operative efforts between many nations in Asia and with community of purpose this objective of mediation could be pursued more effectively. It was essential for some nations to assume this role in the interests of world peace.

Referring to the H-bomb, Mr. Nehru said that it would be discussed at the conference of Asian Prime Ministers at Colombo later this month. The major problem before the Asian statesmen, Mr. Nehru added, was the possibility of war and how it could be prevented.

COVENTRY TO SCRAP C.D.

COVENTRY, one of the most-bombed British cities of World War II, has decided to abolish its Civil Defence because the hydrogen bomb made it a waste of time and money.

The decision was taken by a vote of 32 to 13 in the Council.

Ald. Sidney Stringer, vice-chairman of the CD committee said: "We have heard that if one H-bomb fell on, say Sheffield, it would almost wipe out the whole country."

"Who can suggest it is going to help if we send local officers to CD conferences and spend £20,000 this year?"

"It is too absurd. If we end our local CD we give a lead which will strengthen the hands of people who can urge a national scheme to combat the bomb."

Cnrl. R. Loosely said: "Some protest should be made by ordinary people about bombs which can wipe out the whole country. The H-bomb ridicules Civil Defence."

ABBE PIERRE SPEAKS



From LORNA WEBSTER

BY direct transmission over the Radio Francaise the people of France heard their Abbé Pierre appeal from the Central Hall, London, last week, for "a World Law, a World Order, a World Government of Peace."

In Paris the Abbé and three friends had succeeded in directing the spotlight of the world on to the immense suffering of the homeless of Paris and of France. Thousands of pounds were now flowing to their relief.

This was an example. To-day almost one in every two of the 2,400 millions of the world lived in misery and suffering, literally on the verge of starvation.

Internationally, famine and that psychological tyranny whereby the people of the west and east were already fearing to be seen speaking one with the other, was undermining intellectual integrity and driving mankind steadily to the abyss of the atom. Only by the immense effort of illuminating and by sharing in the suffering of the unfortunates of the world could mankind find the conscience, the heart, the very humanity itself to overcome this creeping epidemic of fear.

LATE NEWS MPs' plan for petition

REPRESENTATIVES of the Churches, all the organisations affiliated to the National Peace Council and other humanitarian bodies have been invited to join in launching a nation-wide petition calling for Big Three talks on the H-bomb.

"I see no reason why such a campaign should not spread both to America and behind the Iron Curtain," Mr. Fenner Brockway told Peace News on Wednesday.

A meeting to discuss the petition, called by four MPs, Mr. Fenner Brockway, Mr. Anthony Wedgwood-Benn, Mr. Anthony Greenwood and Mr. George Thomas, was to be held Wednesday at the House of Commons after Peace News had gone to press. A report will appear in Peace News next week.

The need becomes more imperative than ever that the Christian Churches—to which I believe men and women, even outside them, are looking for a lead—should be prepared to give one. The task is enormously difficult, but we forfeit our claim to leadership if we fail to attempt it.—Rt. Rev. James Pitt Watson, D.D., Moderator of the Church of Scotland.

SHOWDOWN FOR THE CHURCH

—Dr. George MacLeod

"THE H-bomb is the showdown for the Church," writes Dr. George MacLeod in the Scottish Sunday Express.

Dr. MacLeod, an army captain in World War I, is leader of the Iona Community and a minister of the Church of Scotland.

"The showdown is this," he says, "can the Church afford to be other than pacifist now, whatever the consequences?"

"What is the word of the Church, faced with such a shambles as the inevitable content of any future war?"

"Frankly, the Church's answer at the present moment is a spiritual shambles. The doctrine of 'the just war' is exploded for good. We are left with just war. The Church of the Prince of Peace drifts with the helpless world of men."

"The vast majority of churchmen are still non-pacifist; though I have the instinct that the initiative is now with the pacifists."

"At any rate, recently in a Midland town, a pacifist clergyman offered to argue his case in the light of the H-bomb in public debate with any non-pacifist clergyman. But the debate was cancelled after 23 non-pacifist clergymen had been personally approached, but with one consent, had declined."

"I issue a similar challenge to any clergyman who reads these lines."

Dr. MacLeod's article concludes with an outline of the notes which he would use at such a meeting. In the notes he says that he remains a reluctant pacifist; reluctant because "I still prefer the company of most soldiers whom I meet to most pacifists whom I meet," and "because of the appalling responsibility of disassociating oneself from one's country in its hour of need," but pacifist because, "there is one thing mightier than armies, an idea whose hour has come," and "because I am a Christian and now bereft of any doctrine of a just war. The end no longer justifies the means."

FROM INDONESIA TOO

THE Prime Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Ali Sastroamijoyo, said last week that the forthcoming conference of Asian Prime Ministers at Colombo would discuss the question of H-bomb tests involving Asia.

He was supporting Mr. Nehru's appeal to the world Powers to stop weapon tests "which endanger human lives."

The conference of Prime Ministers is expected to include the Premiers of India, Ceylon, Indonesia, Burma and Pakistan.

Great interest is likely to be aroused by the recent election in East Pakistan where the Government party, the Muslim League, was overwhelmingly defeated by the United Front, a grouping which includes neutralists and Gandhians. Since assuming office the United Front Government has released all political prisoners and demands are now growing for the dissolution of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, the central government.

If this should happen it is probable that a United Front Government would be returned in the General Election which would follow. This would suggest a change in foreign policy particularly as regards American military aid, and perhaps Kashmir.

As the Asian conference was prompted to a large extent by the new situation created through Pakistan's acceptance of American military assistance it seems certain that these recent events will add interest and excitement to the proceedings.

WHAT THEY ARE SAYING AND DOING

Piccadilly parade

"WE are not Communists or exhibitionists. We are ordinary men and women who have homes and jobs of our own which occupy our time."

"We feel we cannot stand by in the face of preparations by the USA and Russia for further experiments with H-bombs."

So said one of the small group of demonstrators who all this week have paraded in Piccadilly Circus in protest against the H-bomb.

Every day four or five of them have marched round and round the Circus carrying banners declaring, "There isn't room in this world for you and the H-bomb."

Some have done nine hours parading at a time.

They call for a meeting of the Big Three to secure world inspection and control of atomic energy under the United Nations.

Calling for the banning of both Russian and American H-bombs, they invite anyone to join them for an hour or so.

Soon after they started, on Sunday afternoon, two passers-by on their way to Glasgow via London decided to postpone their journey to carry banners for an hour.

In St. Paul's station a man found one of the duplicated pamphlets which the group are distributing and went to Piccadilly to help.

Climax of the campaign will be a non-stop night and day parade led by well-known public figures and scientists on the eve of the next H-bomb test.

The group want volunteers to help them, who should phone TRA 1519 or apply at Room 10, 20 Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.2.

The North London Group of the Labour Peace Fellowship call for an end to the H-tests "in view of the imminent danger of world-wide catastrophe."

"We welcome the limited success of recent negotiations for the expansion of East-West trade," their Resolution concludes, "and appeal to the Government to resist any attempts by the United States or others to restrict the development of such trade."

The East Ham Peace Movement have asked for Three-Power agreement to stop all further H-bomb explosions.

RUSSIA'S BOMB

IN August of last year the first official announcement of Russia's hydrogen bomb came when Mr. Malenkov told the Supreme Soviet that "the United States has no monopoly of the hydrogen bomb."

Later the same month the Soviet Government announced that an experimental explosion of "one of the types of hydrogen bomb" had been carried out.

Now comes the first description of that explosion, given in an article in the army newspaper Red Star. The writer gives the impression that he witnessed the explosion and compares it to the fall of a million-ton meteorite which fell in northern Siberia in 1908. The impact of that meteorite "felled the forest over an area of 100 square kilometres." This was a graphic way of indicating the power of the weapon.

The Russian Government's new policy to tell the people about the present perils of the world began with a statement by Mr. Malenkov in his election address three weeks ago in which he said that a war fought with modern weapons would mean "the destruction of world civilisation."

NATO — then and now

On March 31, 1954, Russia offered to discuss the question of her entry into NATO.

"The object and purpose of this (North Atlantic) pact is to make a real beginning, on the widest possible basis, of collective security in its true sense, and we hope that political conditions may become such that this collective security system may, if understanding can be arrived at, be expanded to cover the whole world."

—Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Secretary, 18.3.1949.

See "Behind the news" — page two

Challenge to Labour

AT a delegate conference at the Alliance Hall, London, on Saturday, April 3, the Labour Peace Fellowship passed without dissent a Resolution calling for:

1. A ban on all weapons of mass destruction;
2. A new initiative for all-round disarmament;
3. Opposition to German and Japanese rearmament;
4. A diversion of resources from rearmament and to wage an effective war on want in the underdeveloped areas of the world; and
5. Termination of all colonial wars and the speedy implementation of plans for self-determination.

In proposing the Resolution, Victor Yates, MP, Joint Chairman of the LPF, pointed out that there no longer existed any conceivable defence whatsoever against the latest atomic bombs. War had become world war; peace, world peace.

Seconding the Resolution, James Avery Joyce, Prospective Labour Candidate for Norwood, said that it was utterly essential for Britain to work with nations such as India, who were neither "pro-nor anti-Americanism, pro-nor anti-Communism." The only effective way to defeat any "ism" was to replace it with a better one. A world outlook, based on world citizenship and mutual help at the world level, had become imperative.

The Standing Joint Committee of all British pacifist organisations has been conferring this week on the gravity of the situation and is preparing a statement which we hope to publish next week.

The Women's Co-operative Guild "demand that all such and similar weapons now in existence be destroyed forthwith and in view of America's unilateral action we insist that HM Government shall make clear in no unmistakable terms that such acts make co-operation with her quite impossible."

The Meeting for Sufferings, Executive of the Society of Friends (Quakers) asks members to devote themselves wholeheartedly to prayer that they may see the more clearly their responsibility at this time. The Society's Peace Committee has stressed the importance of writing letters to the Press.

The Crusade for World Government has written to Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. Malenkov and Sir Winston Churchill, urging that experiments with the hydrogen bomb should cease forthwith.

DISARMAMENT

WE hope that when the United Nations Disarmament Commission meets this week the Russian Government representative will give an immediate and unqualified declaration that his country is prepared to accept an agreed system of international inspection and control applied to both atomic and "conventional" weapons.

The new basis upon which the Commission is to work was settled last November, when it was decided that the Disarmament Commission—reconstituted to embody both the UN Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission on Conventional Armaments—should set up a sub-committee of the Powers principally concerned to meet in private and try to work out an agreed solution.

The great advantage that would be derived from a Russian declaration on international inspection and control would be that for the first time it would make possible a clarification of the issues to be dealt with. Up to the present the Russian refusal has prevented a realistic examination of the issues involved. The Western powers, bent on great armaments expansion under American leadership, have been able to set aside any genuine examination of the problems of disarmament on the plea that the Russian attitude was an insuperable barrier.

Since the original Baruch proposals were first formulated the Russians have made a number of proposals towards bridging the gap between the Russian and the American attitude, but that gap remains essentially what it was at the outset. The Russians are ready to accept a system of periodical inspection of all atomic undertakings, while the Americans insist that only permanent control will prevent the danger of clandestine diversion of atomic materials to war purposes.

If the Russians will jump the gap and agree to accept the American thesis for detailed examination and planning it will become possible to look at the real questions that underlie this matter on a basis of reality and not of sham. We may for instance be in a better position to find out whether the American Senate and House of Representatives would be any more likely to accept such a control, knowing that Russians would have to be associated with its operation, than the Russians have been to accept such control with the involvement of American personnel. Frankly, we do not believe that there is any reason to assume that the American Government would be ready to accept the proposals that have been put forward on its behalf if it came to the point

★ ★

We believe that if this matter is explored to its foundations the following conclusions will emerge.

It is futile to think that atomic weapons can be discarded without the discarding of "conventional" weapons.

Control, therefore, if it is to be applied in one field must also be applied in the other. In view of these considerations, effective international control is not a practical possibility; and if it were so it would carry with it dangers equal to those offered by the present situation. What is practicable is to declare a ban, but this ban cannot stop all atomic weapons; it must take in "conventional" weapons also.

As the maintenance of an international check on such a ban is not practicable it can only be implemented on a basis of trust. Such a basis implies that the endorsement of the ban should be followed by action along the lines of unilateral disarmament, each nation trusting that the others will be acting with an equal sense of honour. Trust is no absolute safeguard for the future of any nation or the world, but reliance on trust in the conditions of the world today offers a greater prospect of survival than reliance on destructive power.

LETTER FROM THE USA

COURAGEOUS

Before I read Lewis Mumford's letter it was my intention to deal with Indo-China and the approaching Geneva Conference. Mr. Dulles and others in the top command of the Eisenhower administration are aware that the former is "going to be a tough spot" at Geneva and there is now a concerted effort here to play down the Conference, to take the spotlight off an event in which the government or people of this country can take even a modicum of

It has even been suggested that they

COURAGEOUS LEWIS MUMFORD

—

By A. J. MUSTE

might quietly murder the Vietnamese leader— or have already done so—as the Communists did the guerrilla leader, General Marcos, in Greece in 1947-8? But there is no resemblance between the strong position in which the forces of Ho Chi-minh are and the unsteady position which obtained in Greece when the defection of Yugoslavia from the Soviet bloc was imminent. I cannot believe that the undoubted difficulties and tensions being experienced in the Communist bloc can possibly lead to French victory now.

It is felt in Washington, and surely with reason, that any political settlement in Indo-China at this moment, i.e., a settlement for the federated nation as a whole, would amount to handing the country over to

LEWIS MUMFORD

Communist control. The power position of the Communists in all of Southeast Asia will in that case be vastly improved. It should be borne in mind that not only will the US prestige suffer in the Orient in this way, but the British position in Hong-Kong and Malaya will be appreciably weakened. Furthermore, the repercussions on the French Empire in Africa of a defeat and may in a short time be catastrophic. As far as the French position in Europe? And what as I can gather, the best Mr. Dulles hopes for is that the French can be

Department who think a clear-cut victory is anything better than the stalemate just envisaged by any longer possible in Indo-China or any compromise. I question whether there are responsible people in the Pentagon or State Department who would be the time for negotiation and improvement forces can be relatively improved. Thus the position of the anti-communists for another year or two and keep fighting.

If the French give up

After another couple of years of heavy fighting—another Korea, in other words. At the moment, my guess is that for a number of reasons the relations between the Power blocs are so nearly in stalemate that neither side at Geneva will press for a decisive victory, that the basis even for a truce may not yet exist, and that as at one point in the Korean War, discussions regarding a truce may be started while fighting for a favourable position goes on. In this case, as Berlin led to Geneva, Geneva may lead the way to another conference.

If the French give up

There is one more possibility, viz. that the French may shortly give up the fight in Indo-China altogether. This would be an earth-shaking event which might decide the fate of Europe for a century or more.

From here it does not look as though France were yet ready to make this leap. If it did, the US would feel forced either to take on the war in Indo-China or would prepare to accept defeat abroad, possibly to abandon Europe also and to dig in at an attempt to obliterate the bomb, ready to see itself threatened—unless, of course, it were prepared to heed Lewis Mumford's appeal for sanity and faith.

General MacArthur recently paid a much publicised visit to the White House and the country is being prepared for a MacArthur.

speech in support of Eisenhower. Will it be suppressed or to herald a crusade in the Pacific; or to soften the effect of retreat in Asia on the Republican Party and American morale; or to prepare the country for living with a stalemate for living with a crisis which is never resolved, yet never quite explodes either? As I have said, my guess is the last of these three.

Americans at Geneva

second Ruhr. Although the occupying powers originally decided to level these works to the ground, they will soon be providing the biggest steel castings in Europe more cheaply than almost anywhere else, and will ultimately have an annual output of 400 thousand tons of rolled steel. Germany will have the concepts, the generals, and the means of producing armaments.

Americans at Geneva

bringing the Chinese Communists to see the danger of their design for the conquest of S. E. Asia, so that they will desert. We shall not be disposed to give Communist China what it wants merely to buy his promises of future good behaviour."

That is the language of suspicion and dictation and not of compromise—of unconditional surrender not negotiation. If Geneva is to succeed, Mr. Eden and the British Government will have to show themselves much more determined to stand firm for the admission of the Peking Government to UN, against the favour of a neutralised and united Korea and the ending of colonialism in Indo-China than has so far been the case.

Not out of the wood

The first Commissioners have agreed that two of the three amendments only clearly doubts about the validity of rearrangement, and have accepted them on the understanding that "no defence machinery will be put into effect until after the EDC Agreement is in force." Germany thus becomes the second country to complete the ratification of EDC, Belgium being the first.

Not out of the wood

The attack on some of the articles of EDC by Marshall Juno came as a surprise even to opponents of the Treaty. The fact that he regards some of the clauses as unworkable and feels the need for an alternative solution has added to the general confusion.

The French Government seems to deal more effectively than does the British Government with generals who make political pronouncements.

In a manner recalling the sacking of MacArthur, Marshall Juno has been dismissed from his post as Vice-chairman of the High Council of the Armed Forces and permanent adviser to the Government on national defence. Whether he retains his post as Allied Commander in Chief Central Europe remains to be seen. His offer to resign

and concessions?

The first, an important concession, means that the USSR would no longer seek to exclude America from participation in European affairs. It seeks to bring America in not as the possessor of military bases, but as a co-worker for European peace and security.

The second contained the offer that Russia should become a member of NATO and thus transform its shape and character.

This puts the Western powers on the spot, for it challenges again the claim that NATO is a regional pact consistent with the UN Charter.

and concessions?

Unfortunately, although he indicated that Mr. Molotov's proposals would receive consideration, Mr. Eden also rejected the inclusion of Russia in NATO. The Soviet Union has been blackballed from the United Services Club!

By its very nature NATO would completely change its character if the Soviet Union was admitted, since it is claimed that it was the response to Soviet policy and an essential part of Western defence.

The suggestion that Russia continued to increase her military potential after the war is a very serious charge.

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armed is, we believe, false. It certainly
is a very specious argument for NATO
in view of the subsequent claims of
America to superiority in atomic
weapons.

A new starting point

The proposals contained in the Russian note are at least a starting point for new conversations. They could be used to challenge the

A new starting point

the war, while Britain and America disarmed is, we believe, false. Certainly is a very specious argument for NATO in view of the subsequent claims of America to superiority in atomic weapons. NATO is part of the whole fabric built upon the assumption of Russian military aggressiveness, and the refusal to consider any Soviet proposal for European security, expresses the unwillingness to abandon that assumption, the assertion that the cold war must go on and that not only of Russia but of China render—only to the British and American conception of security will satisfy them.

The maintenance of NATO as an instrument in the cold war invites world disaster rather than peace.

A new starting point

BEHIND

THE

NEWS

has been "noted" by his superiors. Although politicians often excuse themselves by claiming that they must give way to their military advisers, it is apparently dangerous for so prominent a military expert to venture to differ with a policy which his government is being persuaded to accept.

Ways and means at Spanpan

German rearmament.

already been amended so as to permit for the West German Constitution fail, if the Bonn and Paris Agreements laid down by the High Commissioners what would happen to the conditions I would indeed be difficult to predict to contribute to a European army, that they would then not be called upon Bonn Agreement not being ratified, but to Western Germany in the event of cast that full sovereignty will be returned

The fears of the possible consequences of German rearmament will not be lessened by recent revelations as to injuries which are going on around the seven prisoners held at Spandau.

There is a growing belief that if the West is to secure aid for its anti-Soviet policies it will be necessary to bribe Germany not only by ending the state of occupation, but by rehabilitating the honour of the German army and navy through the release of the members of the former High Command still under sentence.

A further concern is caused by the opening of the gigantic new steel rolling mills originally planned by Goering in 1938 for the purpose of creating in

Although the occupying powers originally decided to level these works to the ground, they will soon be providing the biggest steel castings in Europe more cheaply than almost anywhere else, and 400 thousand tons of rolled steel.

Germany will have the conscripts, the generals, and the means of producing armaments.

Americans at Geneva

American threats are not helping to create a good atmosphere for the Geneva Conference.

Mr. Dulles has made clear the

"The US Delegates will go to Geneva in an effort to bring about a united Korea from which Communist China will have withdrawn its army of invasion. Also we hope that any discussion on Indo-China will serve to

bringing the Chinese Communists to see the danger of their design for the conquest of S. E. Asia, so that they will desert. We shall not be disposed to give Communist China what it wants merely to buy his promises of future good behaviour."

That is the language of suspicion and dictation and not of compromise—of unconditional surrender not negotiation. If Geneva is to succeed, Mr. Eden and the British Government will have to show themselves much more determined to stand firm for the admission of the Peking Government to UN, against the favour of a neutralised and united Korea and the ending of colonialism in Indo-China than has so far been the case.

EAST AND WEST IN SCHOOL TEXT BOOKS

AN enquiry into how the countries and peoples of the East and the West are treated reciprocally in their textbooks has been proposed by UNESCO to its 69 Member States.

On the basis of this plan, Governments and UNESCO National Commissions are invited to carry out simultaneously a quantitative and qualitative study of the knowledge which primary and secondary school pupils can acquire from their textbooks, with regard either to the countries imbued with the traditions of West Europe, or to the countries of Asia.

The purpose of the enquiry is to permit Member States to make sure by their own means that the textbooks each of them uses in its schools gives an accurate picture and adequate knowledge of other countries. After the study has been made, it will be possible to convene bilateral and multilateral meetings of experts to examine school books and to make arrangements for changes in them. Such changes will in no sense involve taking liberties with historical or geographical truth.

UNESCO has already received several replies from Member States expressing their willingness to conduct this enquiry. In Germany, for instance, the proposed study has already begun and a report on a survey of history textbooks is in the process of completion.

Team leader describes Quaker work Korea

"A PINPRICK IN A VAST AREA OF NEED"

From BERNARD CANTER

Editor of The Friend

FRANK HUNT, Ilford (Essex) Quaker, who has been leader of the Friends Service Unit in South Korea, left Kunsan, the port in the South-West of the peninsula where the Unit has been working, at the end of February and arrived at London Airport last week.

He is spending a short time in Britain before going on to Philadelphia to take charge there of the Korea and Japan work of the American Friends Service Committee. His wife, Pat Hunt, an American citizen, also a member of the Quaker team in Korea, left before him and is at the moment working for the American Friends Service Committee in Israel. She will later join her husband in Philadelphia.

"I don't think we can say that what the Unit has been doing in Korea is particularly new or original," Frank Hunt told me in London on his return.

"It follows much the same lines as many another Quaker service project after other wars, and there are several other non-governmental teams doing similar work in Korea. We have been frankly pinpricking in a vast area of need.

"Off the beaten track"

"But perhaps we can claim to have been the first welfare team to push off the beaten track, as we have made our centre not Pusan or Seoul but the less-known area of Kunsan, where there are some 30,000 refugees. And, unusually for Korea, we are an international team.

"We have tried to live as simply as possible, in Korean style, and to live alongside those Koreans who are already tackling vast problems of health and welfare.

"In the hospital at Kunsan, for instance, the doctors and nurses in our Unit have made themselves part of the staff of Korean doctors and nurses. Our doctors have gone their rounds together with the Korean doctors; they and the nurses have worked under the Korean medical superintendent.

"Everything that has developed has been the result of thorough discussion between the staff and the Unit; and we think that, if we have been able to do anything at all, we may have instilled hope in that staff—and in the patients—that enormous difficulties, inevitable in a war-damaged, ill-equipped hospital, can gradually be overcome, and that the hospital can become once again a place not of death but of healing."

Before he left the medical superintendent told him how much the contribution of the Unit—not only the equipment and drugs and skill which it brought, but the widespread sympathy and helpfulness which it symbolised, had been appreciated.

Fighting against TB

A TB section is opening this month (April) in a formerly derelict wing of the hospital.

So tragically prevalent is TB in Korea that it has been possible in the main to treat it only on an outpatient basis.

The new TB work at Kunsan, however, will cover in-patient treatment as well. Physiotherapy is another new aspect of the hospital's service that has been introduced with the help of the Unit; special attention is being given to supplying legless sufferers with artificial limbs and giving training in the use of them.

Many-sided work among refugees is also being attempted—supplementary feeding, vocational training, child welfare and so on. Large quantities of dried milk given free by the United States Department of Agriculture, and shipped to Korea through the channels of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), have been distributed. A scheme now being developed by the AFSC is for the making up of packages of educational materials by schoolchildren in the United States for the use of refugee children in Korea.

Geoffrey Hemingway, of Southend-on-Sea, is acting leader of the Unit in Korea. The Unit's work may be expected to continue for a fairly long period.

SHOT IN THE ARM



LETTERS to Peace News are sorted into two heaps as they come in: one heap for the business section, the other heap for the Editorial. In a way this might be physically just, but psychologically it's not.

You see, most of the people with a bone to pick, write to the editor, "Dear Sir, Peace News is too hard . . .", "Dear Sir, Peace News is too soft . . .", "You're anti-Russian . . .", "You're anti-American . . .", "You take the black man's part too much . . .", "you're too religious . . .", "you're not religious enough . . .", "You're bourgeois . . .", "You're Communist . . .", "You're Fascist . . .", "Why didn't you print my letter?" "Why did you print my letter?" . . . get the idea?

It's the folks downstairs who get all the nice ones . . . "Dear Friends, here's five pounds for the cause . . .", "keep it up, enclosed ten shillings . . .", "best wishes to you all, accept two guineas . . .", "fifteen dollars from all of us and please send another dozen copies . . .", "don't know what we'd do without Peace News, please find 100 rupees, hope you can change 'em."

These are not literal extracts, but they give you the drift.

Nevertheless the first-floor crowd are sympathetic. Every so often they push us up a stimulating letter just to give us a fillip and keep us bashing at the typewriters.

We had one today, "the horror of the H-bomb has roused me . . . grateful for your splendid work . . . enclosing £8."

That, friends, with deference to the anti-inoculationists, was a shot in the arm. Have your hypodermics ready.

TOM WARDLE.

Contributions since March 26:

£28 16s. 1d.
Total since Jan 1, 1954: £314 3s. 4d.
Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Pursue the right policy—not U.S. policy

THE most encouraging thing he found in the United States was the real concern that existed in the minds of many people about what we thought was dangerous American policy, said Stuart Morris, PPU General Secretary, when he addressed meetings of Nottingham University Pacifist Society and Nottingham PPU Group last week on the eve of his departure for Geneva.

"I didn't expect to find it," he said. "There was an open-mindedness, a readiness to discuss, and a real concern."

He believed that part of the fear complex in America was not due to Communism, but because people realised that the United States found itself possessed of power which it did not know how to use. "They are scared of it—scared of doing the wrong thing," he said, adding that he had often been asked that British people should urge the British Government to stand firm and pursue what it thought the right policy, irrespective of America's wishes.

How to influence America

"Anything we can do to liberalise British policy and turn away from concentration on rearmament and the wasteful expenditure of money on arms towards the employment of our resources in the war on want, the more we are able to influence American policy."

The "War on Want" presented a big chance, because there was idealism in America and a readiness to share. We should talk less about the wrong kind of peace and more about the right sort of war, and persuade the British Government to make a declaration of war on man's real enemies—hunger, disease and death. "We might then find a real response in America even if we didn't in Russia, although I don't see why we shouldn't there," said Stuart Morris.

Although McCarthy remained a menace and danger, he thought the senator had reached the zenith of his power, and it looked as though a conflict might sharpen between him and President Eisenhower. McCarthy was a sort of symptom of the poison which was in the body-politic in the United States, and he did not find a single person who was prepared to give wholehearted approval to him.

Eisenhower was biding his time and waiting for the best opportunity in which to take McCarthy on with some chance of beating him.

Speaking of the taking of loyalty oaths, Stuart Morris said he thought there was a growing inclination to agree with Einstein and refuse to appear if called before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

MP's FINGER-PRINT PROTEST

Mr. Victor Yates who is MP for Ladywood, Birmingham asked the British Foreign Secretary this week about the fingerprinting of British citizens on British soil before they are allowed to leave for the United States.

Mr. Yates recently made a private visit to the US on a lecture tour on behalf of the War Resisters' League and the American Friends Service Committee. His fingerprints were taken in London.

WORLD'S BLIND SPOT

The dust of this newest explosion was scattered for 300 miles, but the dust of blindness to what is happening seems, alas, to be world-wide.—Cape Argus (South Africa).

FROM LONDON TO BOMBAY

The vehicle shown here is the first Mobile Animal Dispensary for India. It is the first fruit of an appeal to the British public made by Dr. D. P. Kapur, Honorary Secretary of the India Society for Protection of Animals. This photograph was taken on the occasion of the dedication and blessing of the Dispensary by the Rt. Rev. Cyril Eastman, Lord Bishop of Kensington.



A JUST WAR NOW IMPOSSIBLE

Catholicism and modern warfare

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

"ALL this and many other things which might be added show that today it is impossible in waging war to fulfil the conditions which in theory make a war just and lawful."

These words from the writing of one of the most influential assistants of the Pope, Cardinal Ottaviani, Pro-Secretary of the Congregation of the Holy Office, are quoted by Pierre Lorton, S.J. in "Catholicism and the Modern Problems of Peace and War" as evidence of "an indisputable doctrinal trend" supported by men of authority within the Church.

There is not yet, he admits, a homogeneous doctrine officially promulgated in all its details, but there is a realisation that "it is neglect of conscientious investigation, intellectual sloth or else a dangerous game, to copy or to repeat indefinitely what St. Augustine, St. Thomas, Francis de Vitoria, Francis Suarez or Taparelli may have written centuries ago on the just war and the conditions for its lawfulness."

The pamphlet goes on to deal with the problem of the preventive and defensive war; the recent demand on the part of theologians in general for a Statute recognising conscientious objection; and the need of new institutions which should unite nations and reduce the causes of tension. It concludes with an appeal to all Catholics "by prayer, example, and deed to give as soon as possible to the world the peace of souls and peace from arms."

*Pax, 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1. 7½d. post free.

Thirteen professors and lecturers at Sydney University have written to an Australian newspaper about the H-bomb. They say: "We hope that every man and woman will be brought to realise how close humanity is to self-extinction."

UNEASY AT PRIVILEGES OF WHITE PEOPLE—Quakers

QUAKERS in Great Britain are this year making a special study of race relations. The London Yearly Meeting, to be held from Sept. 24 to 26, will be devoted to this subject and members of the Society of Friends are urged to study the question in their Quarterly Meetings.

Last year Quakers declared:

"Emergent Africa presents an inescapable moral challenge to the Christian conscience, and there is a grave danger that African distrust of white politicians may extend to a distrust of the whole Christian Church."

"We face perhaps the greatest ethnological problem of all time and we have to confess that our understanding of the situation is lamentably weak."

"We are uneasy at the privileges of white people, and are disturbed at the conditions brought about by rapid industrial development."

"We must face the realities, good as well as bad, and remember how we are linked with Friends in Africa, particularly with that small company of Friends in South Africa who are facing the issues at much closer quarters, and who need our prayerful support in all their efforts towards reconciliation."

To talk on S. Africa to-night

Tom Wardle of Peace News is to speak on South Africa at the IVSP Centre, 19 Pembroke Villas, London, W.11 tonight, Friday, at 7.30 p.m.

AFRICA MEETING IN NEWCASTLE

Michael Scott and Lord Hemmingford of the Africa Bureau are to speak at a public meeting in Connaught Hall, Blackett Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne, on the subject, "Africa which way now?" The meeting will be at 7.30 p.m. on Friday, April 23, and admission is 6d. Information about the Tyneside Africa Council which is organising the meeting may be obtained from Ursula Massey, 99 Grosvenor Rd., Jesmond, Newcastle-on-Tyne 2.

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P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

H-BOMB QUOTES

Cassandra, Daily Mirror columnist:

WAR as we knew it in 1945 has gone for evermore. One bomb, one missile 25ft. long and weighing less than ten tons, now has more destructive power than the sum total of all the bombs cast in the last world war.

Whose is the unimaginable madness that would seek to use such a weapon?

Little man made in the image of God, surely not yours?

In speaking about atomic weapons, that is atomic bombs and hydrogen bombs, one has to be careful not to give away any military secrets.—Prof. O. R. Frisch, OBE, FRS, Atomic Scientists' Journal, March, 1954.

The Sydney Daily Mirror says that in the light of what happened when the Americans exploded the H-bomb on March 1, Australia is entitled to ask how the authorities knew that the Woomera blast (Britain's atom bomb test) would also not get out of control. Asking that no more atom bomb tests be staged in Australia, the paper goes on: "Are the Australian people still to be made guinea pigs for future experimentation with atomic bombs?"

Should we ever get into world war three there probably won't be more than a handful of people left.—Mr. Lester Pearson, Canadian Foreign Minister.

Africans and the Kenya Constitution

By REGINALD REYNOLDS

MUCH as I appreciate the general line on this subject that has been taken in Behind the News, may I draw attention to one fact that all commentators appear to have missed?

Everywhere I read that "The Africans" have asked for two seats instead of one in the proposed Kenya Council.

What Africans are referred to?

Almost every representative leader of African opinion is either in prison, in a concentration camp, or in exile. Those who remain at liberty—among the public men—are in many cases highly suspect, if not active stooges of the Government.

An outstanding example of this is Mr. Eliud Mathu. I read his speeches in the Legislative Council while I was in Kenya and he was obviously playing to the European gallery all the time, even to the extent of making attacks on the four European friends that the Africans have.

Government mouthpiece

Who does Mathu represent?

I found him regarded by Africans in Kenya as nothing but a government mouthpiece; and he owes his position to government nomination. Yet he is regularly referred to in our Press as an African leader, and his demands as the African demands. Even the Anarchist paper, Freedom, recently referred to Mathu as "the ablest of the African leaders," and spoke as if it would be reprehensible that he should be dropped from the reformed administration.

The proposal that there should be two Africans instead of one in the

Government was obviously so inadequate as to be ridiculous.

It was typical of Mathu's demands and raised no issue of principle. Or rather it accepted the very grave responsibility of Africans serving at all in a predominantly European government.

Mr. Lyttleton has made it clear that the principle of joint cabinet responsibility must be accepted by those who serve.

How can any African accept that responsibility in a government dominated by Colonial officials and European settlers, who will combine to maintain the existing major injustices, political and economic?

The African who serves on those terms cannot at the same time be a true representative of his own people. Whether there is to be one or two of these pathetic Quislings is immaterial.

What has yet to be proved is that any African who accepts the plan, either as it is or with the proposed modification, is in any sense a leader of his people (if he is, he cannot long remain so in office). But I would stake anything on the Kenya African Union opposing the scheme root and branch had it not been suppressed.

Faulty mathematics

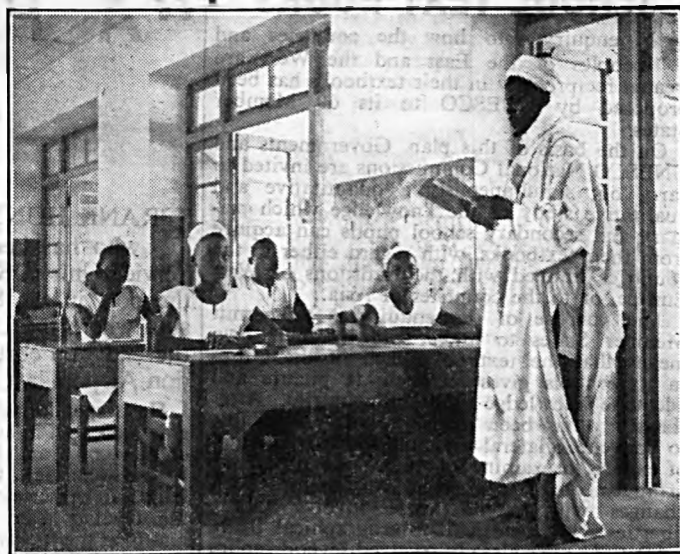
Your comment on the inverse ratio by which communities in Kenya are to be represented in the government is very true. I commend to the attention of your readers the Manchester Guardian leader of March 11 which expressed approval of the scheme but was naive enough to remark that:

"The Arabs form only a small section (about 24,000) of Kenya's population and so long as departments are to be, as it were, rationed communally, they could hardly expect more than an under-Secretary."

The Guardian in basing its case on population figures seemed to have forgotten that the European population is not much larger than the Arab community.

This is what Mr. Lyttleton (who is evidently no mathematician) calls getting agreement on "the lowest common factor"—which is surely one divided by infinity, or the smallest conceivable figure. One can well agree.

WEST AFRICAN SCHOOL



Nothing so illustrates the contrast between justice and injustice in Africa as the difference in conditions on the West Coast and the East.

In Kenya, violence, hatred and fear rule. African institutions and independent schools have been suppressed.

In the Gold Coast and Nigeria progress is being made to full self-government. In the trust territories of Togoland and the Cameroons the United Nations watches over developments. In this photograph a class is seen at lessons in Yola middle school.

A front-line report on the war on want FIGHTING POVERTY IN ALGERIA

By Gunter Köpf

Gunter Kopf was until recently Chairman of the Ulm group of the German Section of the War Resisters' International. In November, 1953, he went to work with the International Voluntary Service for Peace (Service Civil International) in Algiers.

Algiers is the capital of Algeria, North Africa, annexed to France in 1842 after conquest. Since 1881, Algeria has formed an integral part of France under a Governor-General and sends 14 Senators and 30 Deputies to Paris. Population (1948) was 8,676,016.

Abbé Pierre said in London last week: "In June, we hope that our first teams of ragmen-builders will cross the Mediterranean to Oran, Algiers and Casablanca to start rebuilding the shanty towns there. There are no frontiers to stop dedicated social action of this kind."

This report is released for publication by the War Resisters' International.

AFTER working in International Voluntary Service for Peace camps in Germany and France, I have been at the camp about 12 miles from Algiers since the beginning of November.

I was profoundly shocked at the conditions I found here: huts built of rusty tin cans and old boxes, people in rags and very large numbers of dirty children. Poverty, misery and dirt and an indescribable smell.

The whole village draws water at the village well since there is absolutely nothing in the huts—neither water, closets, electricity nor any of the things that are taken for granted in Europe. Cooking is done on oil stoves or on stone-built open fireplaces.

There are no windows in the huts. Glass is too expensive. But in some huts there is a hole in the wall. Mostly the doors are left open. Many families are housed in one room only—about 12 to 18 feet long and just as wide—and up to ten people in a family. Sickness is rife.

Land-hunger

All land is owned by big landowners and there are no small-holdings. Land hunger in this great continent of Africa is gigantic. The people are drawn to the towns and hope to find work in factories; nearly all are disappointed. They do not want to return and so camp on the outskirts of the town, knock something together and there they vegetate, always hoping for work in the town.

The children wander around in dirty rags always looking for something—wood for cooking, a rusty tin or a piece of wood to mend a hole in the hut, or something to eat from the stinking rubbish bins. Even the toddlers have their hard fight for existence. They have no toys—they only know that they are always hungry. There is no school except the emergency school set up by the IVSP.

We try to repair the worst huts belonging to the poorest families. We are making steps in some of the steep roads of the village which are impassable in rainy weather. We make furniture for our school out of old boxes. We give first-aid.

The worst part about it is that our means are limited and we cannot help where we would really like to. The Algerian branch of IVSP has to support itself from its own small membership contributions. From time to time we receive parcels of old clothing, and all kinds of old things no longer usable by European standards. The boxes are carefully taken apart, the nails straightened out. We can make use of any old materials.

Exhausted by the distress

In the evening we are not so much tired out by working as exhausted by all the distress we have seen; too tired to read or write and with only one wish, to go to sleep and forget everything. But even in sleep one can still see the children's eyes, and their thin hands outstretched.

Three of us are working together here—a Swiss, a Frenchman and myself. There is also a Belgian girl, who for two years has taught the girls in the school in the face of the greatest difficulties.

The school is merely a corrugated iron barrel, about 7½ to 9 feet high, with two windows at the back, a door at the front and a wooden partition in the middle. It is terribly hot inside when the sun shines. The furniture is nailed together in a primitive fashion. When a child is naughty there is only one punishment—the child is sent out—and will

sit outside the door for hours on end waiting for permission to re-enter. They all want to learn something—to read and write and count. The thirst for knowledge among the children and the grown-ups is very great.

One of the members of the team, a French girl, started evening classes for young men, beginning with 6 but in a very little while attendance rose to 60. They would wait outside the school from midday until evening in order to get in. Luckily we have now been able to fix up another room, so that the boys and girls can both have lessons.

There is also a nurse here who looks after our sick bay. Originally this sick bay belonged to IVSP but has now been taken over by the community.

When we talk to the people about our work and tell them that we are volunteers and receive nothing but our food, they shake their heads unbelievably.

They only know Europeans as big landowners, who pay starvation wages, as factory owners, business people, capitalists. They are intruders who have stolen their land. The God of Love offered by the Europeans is nothing more than a bad joke. They know Europeans through numerous cruel wars, as unbending, cruel men.

RUSSIAN CHANGES SINCE STALIN

VI conclusion

IN this short series of articles all I have been concerned to show is that different and more hopeful policies have been pursued in Russia since the death of Stalin.

It would require more knowledge than I can lay any claim to of the forces at work in Russia for me to attempt to explain them, and the failure of the prophecies of writers who have made the greatest claims to a capacity to explain the twistings and turnings of policies there does not encourage me to think that I can profitably venture into this field.

It is possible that at Stalin's death men at the centre who held different conceptions of policy became free to follow them out. It is possible also that movements for reform and a growing revolutionary temper have been met in this way.

S. V. Utechin, in recent articles in the Manchester Guardian has given some significant instances drawn from the East Berlin troubles. He says that a Soviet army soldier who smilingly stood by last June watching East German insurrectionists tear down a red flag from the Brandenburger Tor was executed; and that "in Magdeburg eighteen soldiers of an armoured brigade were shot because, having been sent to quell the disorder, they not only refused to do so, but even prevented the German People's Police from doing so."

However this may be there is considerable testimony to a striking change other than that of Mr. Henry Shapiro, from whose account I have largely drawn.

Mr. John Gordon of the Sunday Express wrote for instance in December last:

"I believe . . . from what I saw and heard in Russia that on the day Stalin died there was a change in Russian policy of far richer promise to the suffering world than anything else that has happened since Hitler fell."

Mr. Alexander Werth, who has a great

knowledge and experience of Russian conditions has written:

"I am firmly convinced that the Soviet Union . . . will evolve and improve through intelligent internal transformation and through the emergence of new men inside the regime itself."

Ungenerous from Sir Winston

We do well not to forget the striking change in many lesser aspects of international relationships that occurred shortly after the death of Stalin.

It is perfectly true that in a number of cases, as Sir Winston Churchill remarked, they had merely ceased to do to us what we had never done to them, and if these changes had merely occurred as one of the twists of Stalin policy such a comment would have been adequate. As it was a different regime that was clearly trying to set right some of the harsher things decided upon by its predecessor, Sir Winston's comment was hardly helpful and certainly not generous.

But this type of change did not represent the whole. The Korean armistice quite clearly arose in response to the appeal to the new Russian Government to use its good offices to bring it about; and the armistice having been achieved it became obvious that the allies of Russia were showing a good deal more steadfastness in seeking to maintain the conditions that could make peace possible than were the American Command and their ally Syngman Rhee.

Then there was the willing exercise of the influence of the new Russian Government to secure the release of Captain Vyvyan Holt, British Minister at Seoul, with eight other British subjects and one Irish subject.

The Russian wives

Of the Russian wives of British subjects it is variously reported that Mrs. Bolton, Mrs. Burke and Mrs. Henderson are detained in

labour camps and that they have dissolved their marriages.

It is possible that both of these stories are true, and in any case the protracted refusal over years to permit them to rejoin their husbands constituted in itself considerable pressure upon them to avail themselves of the divorce facilities offered.

Nevertheless, the law, promulgated in 1947 and made retroactive in its operation, which forbade the marriage of Russians with foreigners has been repealed, and by June of last year all the wives of Americans in Moscow were able to leave Russia. The wife of Mr. Henry Shapiro, incidentally, was one of these.

Yugoslavia

A different spirit became manifest in the relationship of Russia with a number of smaller powers. The most striking of these was the complete change in the attitude to Yugoslavia.

There were a number of marked diplomatic courtesies emanating from the Russian side, and the intense hostile propaganda against Yugoslavia was dropped. This also happened incidentally in the "iron curtain" satellite countries, and this change was naturally followed by the servile Communist Press throughout the world.

It will be remembered too that Russia has sought to bring about better relationships with Turkey by abandoning claims it had made regarding the Eastern provinces and the Straits.

The Russian Press

There is considerable testimony to a change in the Russian Press in the past year.

Edward Crankshaw says that there is now more satire, there are more pictures, and even "occasional gleams of personal warmth."

Writing in the Observer of November 22 he says, "Instead of endless smudgy photographs of pudding-faced machine minders

● continued on next page

Letters to the Editor

April 9, 1954, PEACE NEWS—5

Billy Graham

THERE has been a lot of nagging going on. Almost every publicist, politician or parson in Britain has held forth on the subject of Billy Graham.

In the columns of Peace News Dr. Graham has been pilloried for being "totally out of touch with the minds and hearts of the common people today". I am quite sure that there is a good deal of truth in this. I am also sure that the Churches in Britain are out of touch, and—let me add—there are many, perhaps even a majority, of good and highly intelligent pacifists who are equally out of touch with the hearts and minds of the common people.

Pacifists tend to move in a rarified atmosphere of high moral intent. So does Billy Graham. The only difference is that pacifists believe in salvation by corporate action and Billy Graham believes in salvation by personal conversion. The Common People neither believe, nor are interested in, either path to glory.

What Billy Graham is doing at Harringay is giving the membership of the Christian Church a "shot in the arm." Just for once—usually for the only time in their lives—churchmen and women find themselves in a great gathering of like-minded folk. The spirit moves—it may be emotionalism or any other 'ism, but it is happening.

I have been there three times. Dr. Graham, his soloist, his trombonist and his choir have not moved me away from my ordinary way of life. But then I am not a churchman. How many of those who criticise him can fulfil both conditions: of being a churchgoer, and of having been to Harringay?

Billy Graham is doing something to the morale of churchgoers. He is here at the invitation of more than 1,000 Christian Churches; he is serving them well. Whether he is serving Christ equally well is another question.

In conclusion I would say that Billy Graham and his team have made church religion front page news. What a great day it will be when we can produce a team capable of making peace a similar talking point in the Press, the workshops, the pubs and the homes.

L. J. CUMING.

Communists and pacifists

THE letter from C. B. Wood (March 12) is refreshing and logical. Too long have pacifists refrained from associating with those who have accepted the ideology of Communism. All Communists want peace, whether Christian or not.

I would like to congratulate Peace News on the broadminded attitude it has shown of late and appreciate the space allocated to readers' letters and views.

FRANK BURGESS.

452 Charminster Rd.,
Bournemouth.

Pacifist Youth Action Group

THE Pacifist Youth Action Group has been in existence now for only about two months. Recently we have averaged about 8 dozen Peace News sales a week.

Perhaps there are other pacifists prepared to give up one night a week, one night a fortnight, or even one night a month to our activities. If they feel put off by the word "youth" in the title, they need not become members of PYAG; they need only become associated with us to the extent of giving up one night a month to selling PN!

We try to keep an up-to-date list of suburban and metropolitan meetings. Every night there is some social, business or political gathering to be picketed—some nights half a dozen. This entails much work for the few

stalwarts—but we feel it worth while until we can build up a network of members and associates who can guarantee us help.

"Every idea is an incitement" said Mr. Justice Holmes. How incited are you?

A. H. BLACKMORE.

35 Hornsey Lane Gardens,
Highgate, N.6.

WSPU and non-violence

IF the pacific Pethwick-Lawrences and Sylvia Pankhurst had been elected to the leadership of the Women's Social and Political Union in place of the militant Christabel and Emmeline Pankhurst before the first World War, women's enfranchisement might have done more to help the cause of peace than it has.

For though women gained the vote more speedily through the belligerent methods and ardent recruiting efforts of the two Pankhursts, they could hardly advocate non-violent means for settling international disputes after adopting militant methods for gaining their own ends. Therefore one of the most important of the original aims of the WSPU—that of outlawing war—has not only not been attained but has been completely lost sight of by the majority of women voters. Surely another very clear instance of the law of Ends and Means in practice?

ESME WYNNE-TYSON.

Clarwyn, East Beach,
Selsey.

Pacifists and the churches

● Certainly "dissentient views within the Church on the question of War and Peace may cause considerable embarrassment." So they should.

Constant Willis's basic concern seems more for some get-together sect called church; than for the living practical Christ revelation of the Spirit that quickeneth to Love and true self-knowledge.

Largely the churches present the very conditions the Christian student needs to out-grow if he would stand all one with Truth as a convinced practical pacifist.

The Rev. Edis Fairbairn's simple, kindly, and profound little book "Apostate Christendom" should be more widely read. In it he writes: "Our world needs nothing so much as to rediscover the real Jesus... What makes this difficult is the fog of prepossessions about Christianity in the minds of religious and irreligious alike... they part company with Jesus in the pinches."—H. J. Cundy, 12 Baker St., W.1.

● I think the very fact that the idea has been mooted shows how lamentably Christian Churches have failed to carry out their Master's teachings.—Olive Murphy, 4a The Ridgeway, N.W.11.

● How right Frank Hancock is when he writes: "If God is ever a God of Battles, if he needs today the defence of bombers, how can we ever worship HIM as a God of Love? I am always shocked by the hypocrisy of those in uniform who gather at the Centoaph every November and sing 'Sufficient is Thine arm alone and our defence is sure.' Do they mean it—if so why armaments and uniforms?"—Mabel Blackwood, 40 Collingwood Avenue, N.10.

● It should be pointed out that in London at least there are churches of all the main denominations led by pacifist ministers who are seriously handicapped by lack of active pacifist support. If Christian pacifists pulled more than their weight in the general work of these Churches, might it not happen that these churches would end up as Christian Pacifist churches—or is this wishful thinking?—"Veronica."



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RUSSIAN CHANGES AFTER STALIN

From page four

there are now well-produced colour supplements on the gay side of town and country life of the kind so well exploited in the earlier Soviet films.

"Some of the anti-American cartoons are now quite funny to look at, original, spiritedly drawn, with individual lines—totally unlike the traditional stereotyped and hideous stylisation of the 'robber cannibals of Wall St.'"

And of the newspapers and magazines read by the "intelligentsia" S. V. Utechin says (Manchester Guardian, 5.3.1954): that these have begun to speak a different language in almost all matters except foreign affairs. "The prevalent tone has been one of exposing the propaganda fictions about Soviet life and describing it truthfully."

Minor changes indicating an attitude that would have been impossible under the Stalin regime are too many to enumerate.

Of these the arrangement for the crew of a Russian cruiser at Portsmouth to be "at home" to British visitors, whom they entertained with songs and dances may be mentioned as an example in the field of foreign contacts; while the opening of the Kremlin for the entertainment of children on special occasions will serve as a pleasant example of a different attitude in Moscow itself.

That the elections to the Supreme Soviet of which we have recently had an example are a piece of hocus-pocus judged by Western standards is obvious: nevertheless Mr. Shapiro, who was in a very advantageous position as an observer has remarked:

"If a truly free referendum could take place in Russia today Malenkov would obtain a comfortable majority for a vote of confidence." J. A. S.

To whom it may concern

Let us deal plainly. I have sheathed the steel Of subtlety: call me an honest hater. Breaking no butterflies upon the wheel I'll blunt no rapiers on an alligator: With metaphors and weapons chosen thus, Viewing your hide, let's try a blunderbus...

The thaumaturge had but his soul to sell— You sell the future of the whole creation; Faustus raised Helen—you are raising Hell, To plunge a planet in your own damnation; Faust knew what he was doing—more or less— Your gruesome gambit is a clumsy guess.

Doomed men may yet take pride in how they die

When glory is the stake for which man gambles;

But if some Gadarene, half-human sty Elect a blundering butcher for the shambles— Macabre obscenity—what scorn could etch The suicidal swine, the murderous wretch?

Let's get it over with, as you would say;

Your oratory stinks—I wish you'd can it. Miscalculate again—you'll have your way, Make bigger blunders and blow up the planet.

Revise the Latin tag and say that Man About to die, salutes you—Caliban.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

DIARY

Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning. Include: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Saturday, April 10
NOTTINGHAM: 3.30-6 p.m.: Friar Lane Adult School. AGM North Midlands Area PPU.

GLASGOW: 3 p.m.: Community Ho., 214 Clyde St., C.I. Rev. G. Lindsay Hunter. "The Pacifist Element in Christian Mystical Thought." Church of Scotland Peace Soc. and FOR.

Tuesday, April 13
MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air meeting. Local Methodist ministers and others. MFF.

Wednesday, April 14
LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action Group mtg. 3 Blackstock Rd., Finsbury Pk.

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.: Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. FOR, PPU.

Thursday, April 15
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Mr. Moore, JP. "Juvenile Delinquency." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m.: Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

Easter, April 15-19
HAVERHILL: Youth Holiday Conference at "The Mount." "Planning for Peace." Edith Adlam, John Hoyland and other speakers. Details from FOR, 29 Gt. James St., London, W.C.1. FOR.

Sunday, April 18
LONDON, W.11: 3.30 p.m.: Studio, 29 Addison Ave. (nr. Holland Pk. St.). Pacifist Universalist Service. Mrs. E. Hunter. "The Great World's Altar Stairs." PPU Religion Commission.

Wednesday, April 21
LIVERPOOL: 7.30 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho., Hunter St. "Is War Compatible with Christianity?" Speakers (offering distinctive points of view): L. A. Morris, Rev. E. J. Blythe. L'pool Peace Board.

Thursday, April 22
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Denis Player. "My Impressions of Spain." PPU.

Saturday-Sunday, April 24-25
AMBLESIDE: Area Youth Conference. Brathay Hall, Clifford H. Macquire, "Peace and the Atomic Age." FOR.

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THE H-BOMB DEBATE

Secrets Stalin must have known

HOW long can Sir Winston Churchill remain Prime Minister now?

That was the question that everybody seemed to be asking on Monday after he had made his speech in the H-bomb debate.

It had indeed been a pitiful performance.

Mr. Attlee, in moderate and dignified words had stated the case for a meeting of the heads of states.

His speech was not only a warning about the H-bomb but a call to re-examine our whole attitude to war, which had become so potentially dangerous to the whole of mankind.

There was no rhetoric in it. He stated the simple case against war that has now dawned on the man in the street in every city of the world. He said:

"Great civilisations have been destroyed, sometimes from internal weaknesses, sometimes from external attacks. The Roman Empire came down through the forces of the uncivilised world. The destructive force today is something which we have ourselves made, and it is operating in a one-world civilisation more closely linked than ever before."

"Would not a visitor from another planet say just the same of us, 'What fools to keep quarrelling in face of this danger'?"

Mr. Attlee is not a spell-binding orator, but here he was expressing what was in the mind of Bill Smith in London, Ivan Ivanovitch in Moscow and Mr. and Mrs. Babbitt in America's Main Street.

The right tone for Russia

Then he spoke about Russia. In exactly the right tone to adopt to her leaders, he said:

"Russia is engaged in building up her social system and an economy which we do not like, very different from our own. It is not our way of life, but it is their concern."

"I am sure that Mr. Malenkov and the rulers of Russia do not want to see their experiment blasted with hydrogen bombs. After all, they have gone a considerable way in developing it. They have large well-to-do classes interested in its survival, and I am sure that the view of the ordinary citizens of Russia, and, I think, of the leaders of Russia, is a feeling of the fear of what may happen."

I have often differed from Mr. Attlee, but this time he rose to the occasion. He was speaking not only for the Labour Party and the House of Commons, but for the whole of mankind.

Sir Winston would have been well advised to make a short speech endorsing the appeal Mr. Attlee had made. That was what the House expected.

But to everybody's surprise he launched out into a partisan attack on the previous Labour government on the grounds that it had abandoned the initiative in the manufacture of the atomic weapon to the Americans.

He based this on an agreement that he had made with President Roosevelt at Quebec on August 19, 1943.

Sir Winston seemed to think that Mr. Attlee should have revealed this to Senator McMahon before the Senator's Committee had decided that it should be illegal to transmit America's atomic information to any other nation.

The debate deteriorated into a brawl, the House turning from its best mood to its worst. Labour MPs who have not been particularly courageous in opposition to Sir Winston's policy howled and yelled.

Uproar in the House

Sir Winston stood there, where he had been the hero of so many Parliamentary triumphs, bewildered, helpless, seemingly unable to appreciate the fact that those opposite were baiting him and those behind him were too stupefied to give him a cheer of encouragement to help him in his difficulties.

This was Nemesis with a vengeance.

I hardly think we shall have Churchill at the Dispatch Box often again.

The document which roused the storm is an interesting footnote to history.

After reading it one ceases to wonder why the Russians were so suspicious and why they remain so.

Here was the great new secret war weapon which was not to be disclosed to them although they were our allies and fighting for their lives on their own soil against the Nazi invaders, and here Roosevelt and Churchill were solemnly signing a document under which they agreed to keep it a secret from the Russians.

We know now that Fuchs had revealed the atom secret to the Russians at a time when the Allies were keeping it from them.

Stalin knew about it and he knew all the time that the men sitting with him at Yalta and Potsdam were trying to hide it from him.

So after all Stalin had some reason for being so suspicious.

There were some interesting speeches in

DAY OF PRAYER—Billy Graham

What are we going to do with this tremendous power? I think it is high time the American Government and the British Government called for a day of prayer. I would submit to the President of the US and the Queen that our two nations take the lead in proclaiming a national and international day of prayer asking God to save us—Billy Graham.

debate. John Strachey speaking on the need to call a Three Power conference wound up as follows:

"What does it matter if we are snubbed? Is it to be said that Great Britain lost the opportunity perhaps of saving the world in case she got snubbed?"

Mr. Frank Beswick, who was an RAF pilot during the war and an observer at the first American atom explosion in the Pacific said:

"The interval between the 500 lb. bomb and this hydrogen weapon is only 15 years all told. What is to happen if development proceeds at that pace for another 15 years?"

"I agree with what was said earlier in the debate that, faced with these facts, a completely new scale of human values is needed to make sense of human relations in the modern world."

He went on to argue that:

"We now learn that on January 1 of this year the Federal Bureau of Investigation distributed details to police officers of two atomic devices that could be sent through the post. What sort of social life are we to have if a danger like that is to be suspected and searched for in every postal packet?"

Question for military chiefs

"Mr. Val Petersen, US Civil Defence Administrator, said that the cities are finished, and that, unless evacuation was carried out, the US would suffer 22 million hospital cases and 9 million fatalities. On the basis of these figures Mr. Petersen made his notorious comment,

'Just as a practical matter, how in hell are you going to bury 9 million corpses?'

"That question of Mr. Petersen's should be put above the doorway of every politician and every military chief in the world. Had it been over the doorway of the Prime Minister, I doubt whether he would have made the speech which he made today."

Dr. Barnett Stross ended his speech with the words:

"I hope that when the Foreign Secretary and the Prime Minister face people who are alleged to be their opponents and when they speak to them face to face they will remember that even one's enemy, when looked at closely in the face may well be only one's self."

Attlee has certainly given a lead on the H-bomb. But where are we going now?

"IN MORTAL PERIL"

Supreme Commander, General Gruenther, at SHAPE replied to the question I put to him as to how our defensive arrangements have progressed since the formation of NATO: "At his first conference in 1951 General Eisenhower asked his staff what the Russians required to enable them to reach the Channel. The answer was 'only boots.' Because at that time there was practically nothing with which to oppose them . . . Today our strength to resist is three or four times greater . . . There would be no push-over in Europe now." We have in fact bought time, and the improvement in the international situation today can be attributed directly to our increased strength.

—Lieutenant-General Sir Brian Horrocks. Sunday Times, April 4, 1954.

WRITING before the debate on the

Labour Party motion calling for a high level meeting of the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain to reconsider the problem of reduction and control of armaments, it would be unwise to indulge in any predictions.

This motion is the outcome of a considerable rise in the temperature of public fears in regard to American experiments with the Hydrogen bomb. Atomic energy can be used for constructive purposes; the hydrogen experiments have no such latent possibility.

It would appear now that those in power, who can, perhaps, still choose between the life of this planet, or its death, have suddenly reached a position where they see before their advancing feet a pit of such appalling and overwhelming horror that they have been compelled to halt, and even to draw back.

The Labour Party motion to reconsider the problem of control gives a queer impression, in spite of the word "immediate," of leisureliness; it is as though, on the brink of a precipice with the edge already crumbling, and an avalanche roaring and gathering momentum behind, there was a delusion of timelessness.

Sir Brian Horrocks, however, assures us that we have been buying time ever since NATO, and its military headquarters SHAPE came into being; that in fact our increasing strength has prevented Russia from her intention of marching her armies, in their "boots," to the Channel ports.

It seems strange that if it were so easy, and so possible, for them to have gained at that time their alleged objective, they did not immediately undertake it while the greater strength was still in their hands.

"There was practically nothing," says General Gruenther, "with which to oppose them." Unresisted they could have marched to our destruction, but instead of doing so, it appears they coolly awaited the building up of Western strength. Very chivalrous and fair!

It might seem likely, perhaps, that conquering Europe by military force was not their objective after all. And yet with trembling voice, and tears in his eyes (according to the Observer) the Prime Minister has declared that without the Hydrogen bomb "Europe would stand in mortal peril." He ignores the fact that the human race itself is in mortal peril so long as these terrible weapons exist.

The fearsome propaganda about their destructive power has caught in its coils those whose first instigation it; the Western Powers have been trapped by their own insistence that there is a threat of Russian aggression which cannot be stopped unless through the possession of weapons calculated to destroy the world.

That morally and ethically the production of such weapons is wrong, let alone the threat to use them, seems to be a consideration which has occurred only to a very small minority. Fear is the dominating emotion, not righteous indignation.

Yet, the situation today is strikingly different from any in the history of the world. Never before has the human race, believed by millions to be God-created, prepared and planned to use means which would result in its extermination.

To rely upon the chance that the weapons which could bring about this horrible holocaust will not be used because no one will dare to challenge their power, is to gamble with wholesale death.

Tears and a trembling voice will not give the answer, nor a call to a day of prayer "to save mankind from the destruction of man-made judgment," as suggested by Billy Graham, unless it be a prayer for forgiveness, and a call to repentance.

The soul of mankind is indeed in mortal peril. Nothing short of the abolition of these weapons can save the world; let that be done, and then, upon our knees in repentance, we might dare to pray for peace.

CONFERENCE REPORTS

"For true independence and neutrality"

DECLARING itself to be based on a policy of "true independence, neutrality and democracy for England," a new movement, The Congress of England, was set on foot at a London conference last week.

Speaking of the need for the new grouping, Tom Wardle, a member of the Working Committee of Congress, said that the events of the past weeks had highlighted one of the perils which faced humanity.

But war, the greatest of the threats, was not the only problem. There was the problem of food and population; of famine and under-nourishment in large areas of the world already. There was the problem of exports; of Britain's failure to produce more than 50 per cent of her food; of her dependence on America; of the scamper for markets and the need to exploit more parts of the world for fuel and raw materials.

Yet perhaps the fundamental problem was the helplessness and indifference of mankind to these questions; man's failure to recognise his own responsibility. The reason was the creeping totalitarianism which had overtaken the citizen in East and West. Modern man had acquiesced in the collapse of his status as an individual and in the theft of his personality.

But despair and disillusion could not go on indefinitely. It was in the nature of life to renew itself. However dark may appear the prospect for society, some time there must be a renewal of life. That time was now upon us.

A non-violent revolution

The task was gargantuan; it demanded nothing less than a non-violent revolution.

For that revolution two things were needed.

First the area of government must be reduced. At present, government was remote from the ordinary man, it was government by card-index file, not by and through human beings. Even those most closely involved in government could not understand all its processes. There should come into being units of government small enough for the individual to influence them directly. Only then would he be able to control his destiny.

The world knew the folly of aggressive nationalism, yet it was not the small states which threatened the security of the world, but the large agglomerations: the Soviet Union, the USA and the British Empire.

Freedom from colonialism

The second thing necessary was that there should be a spirit of brotherhood between these small units, a recognition of the oneness of man. But this link should be a voluntary, not a governmental one. At one and the same time there should be a smaller unit of government and a larger area of human loyalty. These two requirements were

not incompatible, in fact it was not possible genuinely to have one without the other.

As far as the Congress of England was concerned, it desired freedom for England, for that country was not free while she remained the master of the British Empire, while she remained partly dependent on American aid, while she was subject to the colonial, economic and military pressures of our time. Congress desired also freedom for Scotland and Wales and Northern Ireland.

Internationally, the Congress of England believed that hope for the world lay with those lesser countries which were not involved in the cold war: with India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and the future republics of Africa, who had no power and no prestige to lose, who were dedicating themselves to a policy of keeping out of war and were fast developing their own ideas as a challenge to the decrepit ideologies of east and west.

While Britain remained largely indifferent to the moral implications of the H-bomb and was busily creating an inhuman and technologically-minded society, those other countries had developed a sense of urgency and mission and were promoting self-government, decentralisation and the recovery of moral and cultural values.

It was up to Congress and its sister movements in Wales and Scotland to help in generating that same sense of national mission in the hearts of their peoples.

But the means employed had to be consistent with the ends and therefore the Congress of England set up no central directorate and imposed no party line. It sought to promote in the individual a sense of his personal responsibility and by that means to bring about the changes that were needed.

The recently issued manifesto of the Congress was discussed with members of the

A life that is peace

PROTESTING against war and refusing to fight was not enough, Wilfred Wellock told Yorkshire Peace Pledge Union week-end school. "Our object must be a way of personal and national life that is peace."

He was lecturing on the theme "That war is inherent in the economy and way of life of the West" and on "The factors in a constructive peace policy."

"The attendance at the school was excellent and the fellowship magnificent," Wilfred Wellock told Peace News afterwards.

The programme included three strenuous rambles on Ilkley Moor.

DUTCH ANTI-WAR STUDENTS MEET

THE small but vigorous anti-war group at Amsterdam (Holland) University held a successful one-day conference at the end of March and discussed what the Dutch pacifist ought to offer his fellow citizens as an alternative to violent conflict.

All the young men had experienced war and occupation in their youth and a number had been in German concentration camps.

Working Committee who drew it up.

The Congress agreed that emphasis should be on local groups of the movement and that such groups should have complete freedom to interpret the Congress idea in their own way.

A pilot Congress group is to be formed in a locality and experience of its progress will be shared with other Congress workers.

A bulletin will be published shortly and given wide distribution to encourage the formation of other Congress groups.

Conference members drew attention to the operation of similar movements in India, Africa, Hong Kong, the American "Third Camp" group, and the resistance movements in Russia, China and East Europe.

Information may be obtained from the Working Committee, 79 Lordship Park, London, N.16.

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